DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 458 997 PS 029 966

AUTHOR Hewes, Dorothy W.
TITLE The Egalitarian Marriages of Six Froebelian Leaders in Late Nineteenth Century America.
PUB DATE 2001-11-02
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (Anaheim, CA, October 31-November 3, 2001).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adults; Dual Career Family; Early Childhood Education; *Educational History; Employed Women; Influences; Leaders; *Marriage; *Spouses
IDENTIFIERS *Egalitarianism; Froebel (Friedrich)

ABSTRACT

During the final years of the nineteenth century, among the leaders of the American Froebelian kindergarten movement were three dual-career couples who exemplified the concept of egalitarian marriage: John Kraus and Maria Kraus-Boelte, William and Eudora Hailmann, and Ada Morean Hughes and John Hughes. This paper focuses on the way these six pioneers were taught, on their own early childhood experiences, the women who influenced them, and the complex social milieu of the late nineteenth century that enabled them to approach the marital relationship in a style countering many of the established sex-related roles of the period. There was no indication that these couples consciously tried to be models of egalitarian marriages. These couples worked to promote American kindergartens and to train young women to teach in them. They attempted to reform all American education systems to incorporate student self-government, a sequenced curriculum of active learning experiences, and the support of businesses and community structures. Froebel's method, which they sometimes called "The New Education," depended upon adults who were facilitators rather than authoritarians, able to promote children's advancement socially, physically, and aesthetically in a supportive environment. They applied this Froebelian philosophy to their husband-wife relationships. (Contains 30 footnotes.) (KB)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 458 997

Dorothy W. Hewes, Ph.D.
San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-4502

History Seminar
Ntl. Assoc. for Educ. of Young Children
Anaheim, CA., November 2, 2001

The Egalitarian Marriages of Six Froebelian Leaders in Late Ninteenth Century America

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, quite apart from the recognized suffragettes and demonstrating feminists, American Froebelian kindergarten advocates significantly influenced the education of girls and promoted the equal rights of women. Leadership included three married couples who exemplify the concept of egalitarian marriage:

John Kraus (1815-1896) and Maria Kraus-Boelté (1836-1918)
William N. Hailmann (1836-1920) and Eudora Hailmann (1835-1904)
Ada Morean Hughes (1847-1929) and John Hughes (1845-1935)

There is no indication that these three dual career couples consciously tried to be models of egalitarian marriages. Their own upbringing, the Froebelian theory which dominated their personal philosophies, and the complex social milieu of the late nineteenth century were factors enabling them to maintain long and happy relationships which countered many of the established sex-related roles characteristic of the period. They knew that Froebel had initiated the idea of female teachers in the 1840s kindergartens. Together they worked to promote the American kindergartens and to train young women to teach in them. In addition, they attempted to reform all American educational systems to incorporate student self-government, a sequenced curriculum of active learning experiences , and the support of businesses and community structures. Froebel's method, which they sometimes called "The New Education," depended upon adults who were facilitators rather than authoritarians, able to promote children's advancement socially, physically, and aesthetically in a supportive environment. They simply applied this Froebelian philosophy to their husband-wife relationships.

PS 029966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

Dorothy W. Hewes

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE EGALITARIAN MARRIAGES OF SIX LEADING EDUCATORS IN LATE NINTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

Dorothy W. Hewes, Ph.D.
San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92182-4502

History Seminar
Ntl. Assoc. for Educ. of Young Children
Anaheim, CA.

November 2, 2001

THE EGALITARIAN MARRIAGES OF SIX LEADING EDUCATORS IN LATE NINTEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

Dorothy W. Hewes, Ph.D.

Before we consider the six kindergarten advocates whose approach to matrimony reflected Froebel's view of equality among all persons, we need to take a quick look back toward the nineteenth century in America. At about mid-point, we had the Civil War and the subsequent disruption of many social and economic structures. Railroads, westward expansion of settlements, the formation of large corporations and publishing empires, and many other elements of contemporary life trace their origins to this period. It was also a time in which male-female relationships began to undergo some modifications and alterations.

Vestiges of the nineteenth century still remain today, including the patriarchal view of marriage and family life.[1] A good wife was to be obedient, reverent, and submissive to her husband. Her husband was expected to be strong and dutiful, but definitely the wage earner and authority of the household. For a married woman to have gainful employment was seen as an insult to her husband. The women's movement emerged, best known through hunger strikes and public protests, but primarily with the aim of gaining women the right to vote.

Egalitarian marriage often means that work and domestic roles are interchangeable, with both spouses having equal financial rewards and household duties. The marriages of the six Froebelians discussed here were characterised by an alternate concept, one with a perceived equality between spouses even though there are differences in earning power, occupation, and educational attainment.[2] Then as now, the reality of the workplace made interchangeable role reversal and equal partnership

---

Primary archival references were the Hailmann Collection and kindergarten periodicals in the Research Library of the University of California at Los Angeles, the Kindergarten Memorial Library of the Los Angeles City Schools, the Association for Childhood Education International materials at McKeldin Library, University of Maryland in College Park, and the annual *Addresses and Proceedings* of the National Educational Association.

1 Scanzoni, J. (1979). "Social processes and power in families" in *Contemporary Theories about the Family*, edited by W.R. Burr and others. N Y: Free Press, 295-316. Schlafly, P. (1977). *The Power of Positive Women*. New Rochelle: Arlington.

2 Bem, S and Bem, D. (1979). *Androgeny, Equality, and Beyond*. NY: BMA Audio.

marriages difficult or impossible, but under this definition these six Froebelian leaders did have egalitarian marriages.

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, quite apart from the recognized suffragettes and demonstrating feminists, this small sub-group of American kindergarten advocates significantly influenced the education of girls and promoted the equal rights of women. In 1998, I mentioned them at our History Seminar in Toronto, since they were involved with the 1892 meeting of the NEA Kindergarten Department in that city. It was there that a group of women kindergartners started the Association for Childhood Education (later ACEI) because they alleged that men were dominating the NEA. My position was that many men had been in leadership positions, but that Hailmann, Hughes and Krause had successfuly endeavored to incorporate women into the organization.[3]

At this conference celebrating the 75th anniversary of NAEYC, it is particularly relevant to recognize the vital role of these three couples who mentored the founder of our association, Patty Smith Hill. Her recognition that men and women needed to work together was an important factor when the National Committee on Nursery Schools decided to form NANE as a new organization. It was seen as important to include both sexes, rather than remaining with the women of ACEI. George Stoddard, NANE president in 1931-33, expressed this when he said that "Back then · · · it was a case of male liberation."[4]

So, who were these models for our NAEYC of today? There is an old adage that "Teachers teach as they were taught, not as they were taught to teach." I want to go beyond the 1998 Toronto paper to focus on the way these six pioneers were taught, on their own early childhood experiences, the strong women who influenced them, and the complex social milieu of the late nineteenth century that enabled them to approach the marital relationship in a style that can only be called "egalitarian" and modern. Because their version of Froebel's method – "The New Education" – depended upon adults who were innovators, facilitators rather than authoritarians, they were models for promoting

---

3 Hewes, D.W. (1998). *Toronto's First U.S.-Canadian Early Childhood Conference – 1891.* ERIC ED 429 675 PS 017 374.

4 Hewes, D.W. and NAEYC Organizational History and Archives Committee, "NAEYC's Roots" in *NAEYC at 75 - 1926-2001* (2001) Washington, D.C.: NAEYC.

children's advancement socially, physically, and aesthetically in a supportive environment. This contrasted with the sterotyped system of regimentation and dictation that characterized the "traditional" Froebelians. Many individuals have contributed to the philosophy that distinguishes the Developmentally Appropriate Curriculum and the integration of men and women in today's NAEYC, but the three egalitarian marriages of the late eighteenth century considered in this paper were those of:

John Kraus (1815-1896) and Maria Kraus-Boelté (1836-1918)

William N. Hailmann (1836-1920) and Eudora Hailmann (1835-1904)

Ada Moreau Hughes (1847-1929) and John Hughes (1845-1935)

A brief introduction is necessary to set the scene.[5] While no specfic mention has been found to indicate the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) upon the upbringing of these six individuals, his belief that children learn through interacting with the natural environment appears to have been recognized by their families. One of his key points, that both boys and girls are capable of learning through play and through unfolding their innate nature, became integral to the teaching methods that were advocated by these Froebelian leaders. By the time of their own childhoods, Rousseau's writings had been widely distributed and his beliefs had gained acceptance by many literate upper class families throughout Europe and America.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was born in Switzerland, during a period of extended warfare and unrest in central Europe and of deep philosophical discussions about the meaning of life – and of the important role of women. After his ideas became widely practised in Europe, Americans not only read about his ideas but visited his school in Yverdun between 1805 and 1825. They took his revolutionary ideas back home.[6] All six of these individuals with egalitarian marriages experienced a Pestalozzian orientation in childhood that became critical

---

[5] For a detailed acccount of ECE origins, see V C. Lascarides and B.F. Hinitz (2000). *History of Early Childhood Education*, pp 29-110. Palmer Press: New York & London.
6 Hewes, D.W. (1992). *Pestalozzi: Foster Father of Early Childhood Education*. ERIC ED 353 067 PS 021 037

in determining their approach to life and to the Froebelian philosophy of education that they represented.

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) observed the school in Yverdon and integrated many of Pestalozzi's ideas into his own Prussian boarding schools for boys and girls of what we'd now call elementary age. After becoming discouraged with the incapacities he saw in these students, he opened the first kindergarten for three- to seven-year-old children in 1836. He intended it to be the opening wedge in a humanistic global revolution that would affect both sexes, all socio-economic levels, and all ages. It was an educational system that incorporated freedom, self-activity, self-responsibility, stimulating environments, developmentally appropriate knowledge, and creativity. During the next twenty years, kindergartens spread throughout Europe, but Froebel's advocacy of women teachers and coeducational schools brought both Prussian government condemnation and widespread support by women.[7]

Henry Barnard, an early admirer of Pestalozzi and a prominent editor of educational journals, was appointed as the first U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1867. He had been an enthusiastic Froebelian since 1854, describing it as the most original, attractive, and philosophical form of child development the world has yet seen, but America was slow to adopt the kindergarten idea. Nina Vandewalker considered that the "Period of Introduction" took from 1855 to 1880. Of the 10 in 1870, all but one were taught in German. Ten years later, there were about 400 in 30 states. A decade of almost messianic rapid growth, a "Period of Expansion" spurred in large part by concerns about the large numbers of impoverished immigrants entering the country, led to about four thousand by1890. Then the "Period of Reorganization" began to take away the Froebelian approach.[8] Vandewalker's time frame for the rise and decline of these original kindergarten in the United States also fits the lifespan of these six individuals whose careers and egalitarian marriages were inextricably associated with the movement.

---

7 Michaelis, E. (Ed.) (1886). *Autobiography of Friedrich Froebel*. London: Swan Sonnenschein.

8 Vandewalker, N.C. (1908). *The Kindergarten in American Education*. NY: Macmillan.

John Kraus and Maria Kraus-Boelté

John Kraus, oldest of the six educational leaders dealt with in this paper, was born in Nassau, Germany, in 1815. His family background was liberal intellectual, and his early education had a Pestalozzian orientation. As a personal friend of Froebel and other European reformers, he was already recognized as an outstanding educator when he emigrated to Texas after the aborted 1848 revolution in Germany. After his home in Galveston was burned during a Civil War battle, with his library and other possessions destroyed, only a few precious letters from Froebel were saved. In 1867, on the basis of several articles that he had written for American publications, Krause was invited by Commissioner Henry Barnard to join the new United States Bureau of Education. The following year, his proposal for public kindergartens in Washington, D.C. was republished in *Cornelia*. Barnard wrote that "Out of that article sprang a correspondence in which the hearts as well as the heads of two persons became so deeply interested, that the upshot of the whole matter was the establishment, in the city of New York, in 1873, of the Normal Training Kindergarten and its associated model classes. In the development of this veritable Froebelian institute, Prof. Kraus and Mrs. Kraus-Bolte have worked in full accord, against difficulties and hindrances which would have appalled spirits less determined."[9]

That correspondence was with Maria Boelté, twenty-one years younger than Kraus. Born into a large wealthy family in 1836, she grew up on an estate in Germany that provided an ideal environment for the creative and exploratory behavior Rousseau had recommended. Her formal education was primarily by private tutors, but she reminisced that "our home was, from my earliest recollections, the center of literary meetings, musical entertainments, and dinner, tea, and coffee parties, which naturally carried along with them much social cultivation. Although Kindergartens were not yet in existence, the occupations which Froebel has systematized in the new education were the family nurture in our household. Building with blocks, tablet laying games, form-laying with sticks and seeds, were much practiced. Beads were used for

---

9 Barnard, H. (Ed.) (1890 republication of 1881). *Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers*. Hartford: Office of Barnard's *American Journal of Education*. p 550

counting and inventing patterns, either by threading them or by pressing them into wax. Baskets were woven of rushes, grasses, and straw, sometimes intermingled." She described weaving, scissoring, modeling with clay and dough, and play with her twenty-one dolls. Each child had a little garden and their assortment of pets ranged from a deer that shared the dog's kennel to guinea-pigs and a stork. She expected to follow the traditional path of a bourgeois young lady. Her aunt Amély, a popular writer of the period, convinced her that women should lead productive lives. She became interested in the new kindergarten movement, studied (against the wishes of her parents) with Froebel's widow in Hamburg, and then volunteered to work in the London kindergarten of Berthe and Johannes Ronge. Her ideas about women's independence were reinforced by Johannes Ronge, who had started a religious movement that advocated free thought, active leadership roles for women, and public education for all children. In London, she learned English and met Charles Dickens, Mazzini, and other luminaries.[10]

At the time Maria Boelté entered into the correspondence with John Kraus, she had returned to Germany to open a kindergarten and teacher training program. However, like Froebel, she viewed the United States as a place with great potential for the kindergarten. In 1872, she accepted a private school position in New York City. At the time of their marriage the following year, John Kraus resigned his position in Washington and together they founded the New York Seminary for Kindergartners. We should note that she hyphenated their last names, rather than abandoning her own.

Both Maria Krause-Boelte and John Krause spoke out forcefully in meetings and at conventions to promote what they believed was the true Froebelian system, but this seems to have been rather an odd couple. In 1896, the official NEA obituary described John as "a man of genial simplicity of manner and full of enthusiasm" who "was worthy of note both in what he was himself and what he has had the fortune to represent - the introduction of kindergarten methods and principles to

---

10 Krause-Boelté, M. "Remembrances of kindergarten work" in H. Barnard (Ed.) *Kindergarten and Child-Culture Papers* (1890), pp 537-550.

America."[11] An undated clipping in the UCLA Hailmann Archives said that "Forty years ago there were no more constant or interesting attendants at our meetings than Maria Kraus-Boelte and her peppery but lovable husband, who was always getting into difficulties in discussion from which his delightful wife extricated him." In contrast, Maria was gracious, somewhat regal, and apparently very much in charge of the day-to-day operations of their school. Together, they wrote the authoritative two volume Kindergarten Guide in 1877.[12] There were no more children's demonstration classes after John Krause, but the New York Seminary graduated at least twelve hundred kindergarten teachers, an even greater number of nursemaids, and perhaps two thousand children before closing in 1913. Maria Kraus-Boelté also pioneered when she established and taught America's first college level kindergarten teacher courses at the New York University in 1903. She died of cancer in 1918, one week before her eighty second birthday and just before the publication of the *1918-19 Who's Who in America* in which she was listed. An adopted daughter, Emma, carried on the family tradition by entering the new multi-disciplinary field of child development.

John Krause's concern about the feminization of education was expressed in his 1874 letter in Peabody's *Kindergarten Messenger*.

> I beg leave to say that I think it a great mistake that men are excluded from the early education in this country. In Europe it has become an acknowledged fact that Kindergartens become a success only when men and women work together. And why not? 'It is not good for man to be alone,' said the Creator, and gave to man and woman a joint domination over the earth. Why should not these natural, heaven-appointed allies work together in the Paradise of Childhood? Pestalozzi and Froebel have set an example for all times to come in that direction." [13]

---

11 Tarbell, H.S. (1896). "In memoriam: John Kraus." *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Educational Association*, 229-30.
12 Kraus, J. and Kraus-Boelté, M. (2001 reprint of 1877). *The Kindergarten Guide*. Grand Rapids, MI: Froebel Foundation USA.
13 Barnard, H. (1890). *Kindergarten and Child Culture Papers*. p 555.

William and Eudora Hailmann

The second egalitarian marriage is that of William and Eudora Hailmann. William Nicholas Hailmann was born to upper-middle-class German-speaking Swiss parents in 1836. They moved to Thurgau while he was an infant, apparently to provide him with Rousseau-type learning opportunties. His handwritten autobiographical notes at UCLA describe his early childhood in "a beautiful rural environment" with "a devoted mother and a fond grandmother" who admired Pestalozzi. He spent much time in the garden with its small brook or in a play room with blocks, books, and drawing materials. He learned to read by age four with informal instruction from his mother. As a six-year-old, he was at the local school for only a few minutes before the teacher swatted him on the hand for laughing at the drawing on another boy's slate. He ran all the way home and never went back. After this, except for one brief but unpleasant experience at a structured secondary school, his parents sent him to private Pestalozzian schools. He received a science degree from the Zürich Cantonal College in preparation for becoming a physician, but was persuaded by a cousin that there were greater opportunities in America. Soon after he emigrated, in 1852, he began teaching modern languages at Henry Female College, near Louisville, Kentucky. Both at Henry and at his next position at the new Girls High School in Louisville, he developed science laboratories where girls were encouraged to manipulate and experiment. He noted that "The pupils regarded my efforts with enthusiasm, although much hindered in independent study by habits of previous mere memory methods."

William Hailmann and Eudora Grover, a graduate of the Louisville Girls High School, were married on Christmas Eve, 1857. Like Maria Kraus-Boelté, Eudora's family background appears to have predisposed her to become a self-possessed individual. She was the niece of the Girls High School preceptress and other women in her family were teachers. Eudora's paternal grandmother had freed her slaves and persuaded her only son to move away from the south to rear his four daughters. Eudora and her sisters had attended a private elementary school with a Pestalozzian orientation. Her curriculum emphasis on music became a

lifelong interest, leading her to compose songs more appropriate for American kindergarten children than those brought from Germany.

In 1860, when William Hailmann went to Zürich to visit his parents, he discovered the Froebelian system that dominated the rest of his life. First, however, the Civil War intervened with his plans. Like other liberal thinkers, the Hailmanns hoped that it would result in full voting rights for women, as well as for the end of slavery. In 1861, William was granted leave of absence from the high school to enter the Union Army and he was mustered into the 6th Kentucky Infantry. Shortly before they would have advanced to Battle of Shilo, bloodiest of the entire war, he received word that Eudora was seriously ill of "nervous prostration" and that only his presence could help her recover. After he was released from the army, he was asked to develop Pestalozzi-Froebel methods in the local German-American school and become its principal. Hailmann formed an association of friends to raise money for the purchase of land and construction of a building that included the first specifically designed kindergarten in America. He hired a German-trained Froebelian teacher and imported materials to use in the classroom.

The Hailmann's first child, Elizabeth, born in 1859, was followed by William A., Walter, and Harry. As a mother, Eudora volunteered in their kindergarten. She became so interested that she went to Zürich by herself for 3 months in 1866 to observe Froebelian methods, leaving the children with William. In 1871, she went back to Europe for a year, this time accompanied by the four children. They stayed with their paternal grandparents while she observed kindergartens and attended training classes. William Hailmann's autobiographical notes proudly state that on these trips she "gleaned a rich harvest which enabled her to become a progressive leader in the field." For the next thirty years, their work merged so that it was often impossible to ascertain whether ideas were hers or his. For example, from 1877 until the financial depression of 1893, they co-edited an influential journal, The New Education. In general, however, William pushed for incorporation of Froebelian philosophy in upper grades and wrote books from his position as an administrator, while Eudora dedicated herself to innovations in kindergarten methods and materials. In addition to her contributions of

children's music, she developed the colored paper weaving mats and wooden beads that were used in kindergartens into the twentieth century.

William and Eudora Hailmann began a series of upward moves in 1873, going first to Milwaukee and then to Detroit. William was principal of German-American academies and later a superintendent of public high schools. Eudora opened Froebelian teacher training programs that emphasized children's spontaneous initiatives. A visitor to Milwaukee in 1877 wrote that at last she had found an ideal kindergarten. According to her, "Mrs. Hailmann is as pretty as a picture, with blue eyes running over with fun and delight. She has a daughter of eighteen, and so must be older than she looks. She is a fine singer, an excellent scholar, and a model kindergartner."[14]

The crest of their upward movement came in 1883, when William accepted a position as Superintendent of Schools in LaPorte, Indiana, with the understanding that he could develop an experimental program. To the Hailmanns, this was their long awaited opportunity to develop an integrated Froebelian system from early childhood to adulthood. In addition to setting up kindergarten teacher training as part of the public schools in LaPorte, Eudora soon became the director of a normal school in Winona, Minnesota. Both William and Eudora were popular speakers on the summer Chautauqua circuit, where they were accompanied by their four children. They spearheaded a legislative campaign, successful in 1887, that permitted tax-supported kindergartens in Indiana's public schools – the first state to take that step. Both were also involved with national events, such as the kindergarten congress held during the 1892 Columbian Exposition, at which both gave major addresses.

It is probable that some of Eudora's time away from home was to avoid charges of what we now label as nepotism. She was never employed by the school district administered by her husband. She was paid either through local community support for charity kindergartens or she left town with her husband's blessing. For example, she went to Florence, Massachusetts, in 1879 as consultant to a new employer-supported kindergarten that "enrolled children of all colors and social positions"

---

14 Peabody, E.P. (1874). *Kindergarten Messenger.* V. I (April) p 115

and soon became involved in a projected plan for converting their elementary school system to Froebelian philosophy. An affectionate but businesslike letter written by William at this time indicates their shared view of schools as social agencies integrated into the community.

The most direct link between the Hailmanns and today's NAEYC came after they visited the controversial program of Patty Smith Hill and Anna Bryan in Louisville. It was arranged for these "progressives" to describe their version of the kindergarten at the 1890 NEA conference, where Bryan's topic criticized the stereotyped regimen of Froebelian materials and Hill demonstrated creative activities of the children. This became Hill's entry point for a professional career that led in 1905 to her position at Teachers College, Columbia University and her formation seventy-five years ago of the Nationl Committee on Nursery Schools.[15]

The Kindergarten Memorial Library of the Los Angeles County schools has a collection of hand-lettered and typewritten cards, tied into a booklet with faded red ribbon. It contains many views of the Hailmann's ten years in La Porte. One of Eudora's former students wrote:

> Dearly she loved her home and to entertain in it. I remember the Fall day she took the whole class in a band wagon for a long ride in the country and then to her home for an oyster supper, prepared by her sons. She believed boys should be taught to do things about the house, and they did help at home.

Another teacher wrote of Eudora Hailmann that:

> She had an abundance of vitality, and when she and Mr. Hailman walked along the streets of La Porte, they seemed like a God and Goddess treading the earth, their steps were so light and joyous."[16]

Then, in 1893, just at the beginning of the worst economic depression in the nation's history, William Hailmann accepted a federal position as Superintendent of Indian Schools. It was an

---

15 D.W. Hewes and History and Archives Committee, "NAEYC's First Half Century, 1926-1976" in *NAEYC at 75* (2001), Washington, D.C.: NAEYC

16 Conlin, M., Compiler (1942)."Honoring the Work of Eudora Hailmann, Pioneer Educator, La Porte, Indiana, 1883-1893." Packet of handwritten letters and biographical sketches in Los Angeles County Kindergarten Memorial Library.

opportunity to expand Froebelian education, but his annual reports and correspondence show the frustrating limits imposed by public opinion, political pressures, and inadequate funds. Hailmann's egalitarian ideas about women were parallelled by his feelings regarding Native Americans. He advocated their full voting rights while retaining ethnic identity. He trained and hired Indian staff and threw out the citified textbooks. A kindergarten program remarkably like today's Head Start was developed for younger children, with community aides and parent involvement. The whole family worked with him, particularly during summers when they conducted teacher training programs on the reservations, but Eudora and daughter Elizabeth also set up a new kindergarten training school in the Cleveland Park section of Washington.

In 1896 after Milton Bradley published his Paradise of Childhood with a history of the kindergarten movement that minimized contributions of the Hailmanns, William wrote a scathing letter about its reference to Eudora as merely "the wife of the National Superintendent of Indian Schools" while ignoring such contributions as her wooden kindergarten beads that Bradley was selling. During the summer of 1896, the family again worked together on Indian Schools Institutes in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Oregon, Montana, and Minnesota. President Cleveland, the Democrat who had appointed and supported Hailmann, lost the 1896 election to Republican William McKinley. In April 1897, the Kindergarten News announced the closing of the Hailmann teacher training school in Washington. Eudora developed what was termed an "attack of nervous prostration" and became homebound with what appears to have been a severe depression. In1898, Hailmann was replaced as Superintendent of the Indian Schools with the appointment of Estelle Reel, a Republican from Wyoming.[17]

After a desperate search for a position, Hailmann was Dayton Superintendent of Schools until 1902, when he moved to the Boston area to write textbooks for C.C. Birchard. Although Birchard's letters to him had reflected a combination of business and friendly concern,

---

17 Hewes, D.W. (1981). "Those first good years of Indian education" in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 5:3.. Also ERIC EJ 255 288.

hoping that he could find "peace of mind in these difficult times" and suggesting options, the Froebelians and Hailmann were outdated. The structured methodology of the Herbartians and a new scientism promoted by some psychologists dominated most normal schools and college teacher education departments. In 1904, Hailmann was invited to head the Department of Psychology and History at Chicago Normal School. While there, he formed a friendly working relationship with G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and other psychologists who were advocating the system of education based upon Froebel but identified as Progressive. During these years without Eudora, he continued to work with the NEA Kindergarten Department, even though he was sometimes viewed as peculiar because there were virtually no other men involved.

Eudora died in 1905, after almost eight years as a housebound invalid. When William returned to Massachusetts to write textbooks during 1906 summer vacation, he renewed an old friendship with a Detroit woman, Helena Kuhn. They were married in 1907. It seems to have been a companionable marriage, but not egalitarian. Helena's creative talent seems to have been china painting, but interviews with those who knew her recall devotion to her husband as her outstanding characteristic.

Hailmann's final years, from 1914 until his death in1920, were at the Broadoaks Training School in Pasadena. It was one of the remaining outposts of Froebelians and he immediately became involved with organization of the Kindergarten-Primary Council of the West, again as the lone male with a group of women teachers. At his last NEA meeting, in Oakland in 1915, he was given a standing ovation.[18] Patty Smith Hill, who visited him in 1916, wrote that "It was very remarkable to me to find so elderly a man interested in radical experiments. He seemed as open-minded as in his youth, and gave a most intelligent criticism as well as words of appreciation."[19]

---

18 Hewes, D. W. (2001). *W. N. Hailmann - Defender of Froebel*. Grand Rapids, MI: Froebel Foundation.

19 Memorial statement in *Kindergarten-First Grade Magazine* , Vol. V (Oct. 1920), p 339.

James L. and Ada Mareau Hughes

Adaline (Ada) Mareau was born in Maine, a small town in New York state, in 1848. Although she had a traditional public school education, her parents were admirers of Pestalozzi and her childhood years were rich with learning experiences. Her father and all four of her siblings were teachers. After graduating from the State Normal School at Albany, where a Pestalozzian emphasis had been introduced, she was an elementary school teacher until she discovered the kindergarten and became one of the first students to graduate from the New York training school of Maria Krause-Boelté and John Krause. After teaching briefly in New Brunswick, where a group had organized to promote public school sponsorship of Nova Scotia's kindergartens, she met James Hughes at the Friends of Froebel meeting of 1882 and accepted his offer of the position as Toronto's kindergarten supervisor for the following year. Improvised classrooms in the Louisa Street School became the first kindergarten and teacher training program in Canada. After their marriage in 1885, it is interesting to note that Ada kept her maiden name of Mareau as her middle name when she married, but that it was often written as Marean during later years.

James Hughes was born into a family of Ontario teachers in 1845, two years before the Toronto Normal School opened. As a small child, he must have heard discussions about the enforced separation of its men and women students who not only attended classes on different days but even had library books on separate shelves. The Pestalozzian system had been imported from the Home and Colonial School in London, and progressive teachers were using a somewhat formalized version that nontheless was much more student-oriented than their former regimented system. While we have no primary sources to substantiate it, we can assume that James was introduced to "object teaching" as a young child at home. Hughes became a teacher, an inspector, and then the superintendent of Toronto's city schools from 1889 to 1920. In those positions, he advocated gymnasiums for both boys and girls and equal college access for women. His interest in the kindergarten developed in the early 1880s through his contacts with Krause, Hailmann, and others at the NEA meetings in the United States. Preparatory to opening

Toronto's public school kindergartens, the first to be an integral part of a Canadian tax-supported educational system, he visited similar programs in St. Louis, Boston and New York.

A Canadian historian wrote that "James L. and Ada Hughes were ardent advocates of Froebelianism and were almost wholly responsible for establishing kindergartens as part of the public school system of Ontario." Despite objections of the Anglican Church, whose adherents believed in the doctrine of original sin and disagreed with Froebel's concept of children's innocence, the entire province adopted the Toronto plan in 1885. By 1900, there were 166 kindergartens in Ontario, with more than 11,000 children enrolled.[20] From Ontario, the movement spread. As Barbara Corbett recently expressed it, "We are fortunate in Canada that the Froebelian kindergarten is our heritage."[21]

It is noteworthy that Ada continued her professional activities during this entire period, although she gave birth to a son and daughter. Even when the children were young. In 1892, she was one of the seven founders of the International Kindergarten Union (IKU), later the ACEI. When the new association met in 1896 at Teacher's College, Columbia University, James Hughes gave a half-hour talk on "The Teacher and the School" and Ada was first vice president. James also gave a major address on "Froebel and his Work" when the IKU met in St. Louis the following year, with Ada speaking on "Study of Child Nature" the next afternoon. She was elected president in 1906.[22]

Ada's dedication to Froebel was also displayed in her 1901 inaugural address as the first woman president of the Ontario Educational Association. She emphasized that "The study of the child is the most important branch of social investigation today."[23] The last NEA meeting at which both Ada and James Hughes were listed in the

---

20 Johnson, F.H. (1968). *A Brief History of Canadian Education.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill of Canada. p 84

21. Corbett, B. "A Froebelian Perspective on Early Childhood Education" in I.M. Doxey, Ed. (1990) *Child Care and Education: Canadian Dimensions.* Scarsborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada. p 108.

22. It should be recognized, however, that the kindergarten system endorsed by Ada and James Hughes was more regimented than that of the other two couples.

23 Guillet, E.C. (1960). *In the Cause of Education.* Toronto: Univ. of Toronto. p 204.

Proceedings as speakers was in 1905, when she gave an address on physical development in kindergarten.and he talked about the problems of city superintendents.[24] In an obituary published after her death on Christmas Eve, 1929, she was described as "a leader in the kindergarten cause" who was called "The Mother of the Kindergarten" by Toronto teachers.[25]

In his 1898 book, *Froebel's Educational Laws for All Teachers*, James Hughes acknowledged the "inspiration received" from Maria Kraus-Boelte and the Hailmanns, and also the "constant suggestiveness" of Ada Marean (sic) Hughes. In it, he advocated using Froebelian concepts in the upper grades and repeatedly emphasized that girls, as well as boys, should be educated through creative self-activity to become independent. He quoted Froebel's insistence that "Women and children are the most oppressed and neglected of all" and that "women, as one half of mankind, have to undertake the most important part of the problems of the time - problems that men are not able to solve."[26]

Joint Professional Activities

There appears to be no trove of personal or love letters between any of the partners in these egalitarian marriages. Lystra, in *Searching the Heart*, notes that, "In a (Victorian) time before scientific polls and surveys, a formidable barrier of silence surrounded the intimate relationships between middle-class men and women."[27] Even the voluminous professional correspondence between kindergarten advocates and William Hailmann was destroyed by his daughter Elizabeth before she turned his personal papers over to the UCLA archives.[28] What we do have are publications of the kindergarten associations and the National Educational Association. They tell a great deal about the professional and marital roles of these six educators and of the support the husbands gave to their wives throughout the decades.

---

24 National Educational Association (1884 to 1920). *Proceedings of the National Educational Association*. New York: NEA. p 253.
25 Wheelock, L. (1930). "In Memorium" in *Childhood Education* (March). p 327.
26 Hughes, J.L. (2001 reprint of 1899). *Froebel's Educational Laws*. Grand Rapids, MI: Froebel Foundation USA. p 29.
27 Lystra, Karen. (1989). *Searching the Heart - Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford University. p 3.
28 Audiotaped interview, D. W. Hewes with Anna Louise Jenkins, June 18, 1974.

The National Teachers Association, organized in 1857, allowed female teachers to attend but not to become members or to speak. When the NTA reorganized to become the National Educational Association in 1872, John Kraus, James Hughes, and William Hailmann became involved with the campaign to change its membership requirement from "gentlemen" to "persons".In 1884, William Hailmann achieved the formal acceptance of the Kindergarten Department into the NEA and was elected president. That NEA meeting in Madison was the first with women scheduled to speak from the podium and the first at which at least half of the delegates were women.[29] For Maria Kraus-Boelté and John Kraus, this was their first convention after their marriage. Ada Mareau and James Hughes attended and were married before next meeting. Eudora Hailmann coordinated extensive Froebelian exhibits, based upon displays she had seen at the great Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 and arranged so that the five thousand delegates encountered them throughout the conference halls. Her plea for contributors to these exhibits in *New Education* had pointed out that each person has special talents and that since it was "the right and duty of woman to participate equally with man in the administration of educational interest" it was time for kindergartners to "introduce the progressive spirit of the present in the schools of the people." William Hailmann later noted in an undated manuscript that "The character and influence of the Madison Exhibit was such that the Commissioner of Education at Washington requested the Froebel Institute to arrange an exhibit for the World's Industrial and Cotton Centenial Exposition at New Orleans in the winter of 1884-85." Eudora coordinated that display and others for NEA annual conferences and world's fairs until 1892.

Despite their eligibility for NEA membership, until the 1900s women held few elective positions in the organization. Following William Hailmann's term as its first president, the Kindergarten Department was usually headed by women. This automatically put them on the NEA Board of Directors. Eudora Hailmann thus became the first woman president of an NEA department and the first woman on the board in

---

29 Wesley, E.B. (1957). *NEA: The First Hundred Years*. N Y: Harper. pp 255-261

1890/91. Ada Hughes followed her in that position and in 1899 Maria Kraus-Boelté was elected Kindergaten Department president.

The involvement and concerns of these three couples can be seen in the printed addresses and comments of the annual NEA conferences. Annual *Proceedings* show that husbands and wives spoke independently but supportively in discussions following the presentations. Eudora and William Hailmann reflected this in 1892, when they joined a heated defense of the paper in which James Hughes criticized the Herbartian approach to education.[30] Although they often spoke about kindergarten topics, their overall approach showed concern that rich and poor, male and female, should have equal rights. For example, in a 1891 discussion on the School of the Future, James Hughes emphasized the need to provide for the "essential individuality of manhood or womanhood of each child." We might assume that there was also joint preparation for the many presentations made by these six individuals, not only when the husbands were extolling the benefits of kindergartens which were the major interest of the wives, but also when women spoke about topics that were concerns of the husbands. For example, John Hughes described the value of child study in 1897 and the influence of kindergarten spirit on higher education in 1896. In 1905, reflecting a major campaign led by her husband, Ada Hughes gave an address about the value of physical education.

Perhaps the clearest examples of these egalitarian marriages are found in William Hailmann's unpublished manuscripts at the UCLA Archives. While he was in Milwaukeee, he had been involved with the formation of the Rochdale cooperatives, where each member held one vote. He believed that families should follow this system as soon as children reached the age of reason. He supported the controversial Knights of Labor because they were favorable to women's rights, though at their annual meeting in 1890 he chided them for favoring equal pay for women primarily because it would eliminate undercutting of their own incomes. In an 1882 speech, he advocated that teachers select their own controlling authorities, that admission to or dismissal from the profession should be determined by a peer examining committee

30 Hughes, J.T. (1895). "Froebel and Herbart." *NEA Proceedings*. pp 538-45

patterned on that of the medical doctors, that there should be a pension of at least half the annual salary after thirty years, and that salaries should be without regard to grade or sex. In a later talks to varied groups, he spoke of women's need for self-determination. He was even a supporter of "equal rights, equal duties" in military service, citing a long list of women involved with military victories of ancient times.

Eudora Hailmann appears to have felt more freedom to travel than many academic wives of today. Her three month trip to Zürich in 1866, when the children remained at home with William, would indicate that she felt free to pursue her own interests early in their marriage. She apparently lived for prolonged periods in the student boarding houses when she established the kindergarten department at Oshkosh Normal School in 1880, when she was the director of the normal school in Winona in 1883, and on other occasions. While she and Ada Hughes never reached administrative positions equal to those of their husbands, they were unusual in continuing paid employment despite marriage and motherhood. Maria Krause-Boelte and John Krause, perhaps because they had already established themselves professionally before marriage, had an even more egalitarian relationship. All three couples achieved a goal that we think of more in connection with the feminists of the 1970s than of the 1870s era. They deserve recognition and even more study.

Conclusions

The contributions made by these six leading individuals to educational reform in the late nineteenth century resulted in a new understanding of child development and laid the foundations of progressive education. Their emphasis upon children who were developing self-control within a social group was in stark contrast to the rigidly authoritarian methods that had prevailed in the schools of the United States and Canada. As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of NAEYC, we can recognize that our preschool and child care programs of today are based upon Froebelian concepts. While these educators of the late eighteenth century maintained the essential philosophy of the original kindergartens, they were constantly adapting the materials and activities to reflect evolving knowledge about children's learning and teacher's concerns. Through the years, these have been enriched by the study of psychological principles that they fostered in colleagues and students. This, of course, was in line with the desires that Froebel had expressed many times in his letters, publications and presentations to educational associations. As young children, these Froebelian educators had learned through self-initiated activities. They do appear to confirm the adage that "Teachers teach as they were taught, not as they were taught to teach."

The focus of this paper, however, is upon the egalitarian relationships that characterized these three marriages. From growing up in families that applied principles advocated by Rousseau and Pestalozzi, they had absorbed concepts of equality between men and women. These three husbands held open the doors to professional status and accompanied their wives as they confidently entered a realm that had been exclusively male. While their vision has not been totally achieved, today's men and women who are working together in Early Care and Education can take pride in their pioneering efforts and can endeavor to continue what began during the century before last.